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The Philippine Missions

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The Story
of the Apostolate from
King Philip to Pope Pius

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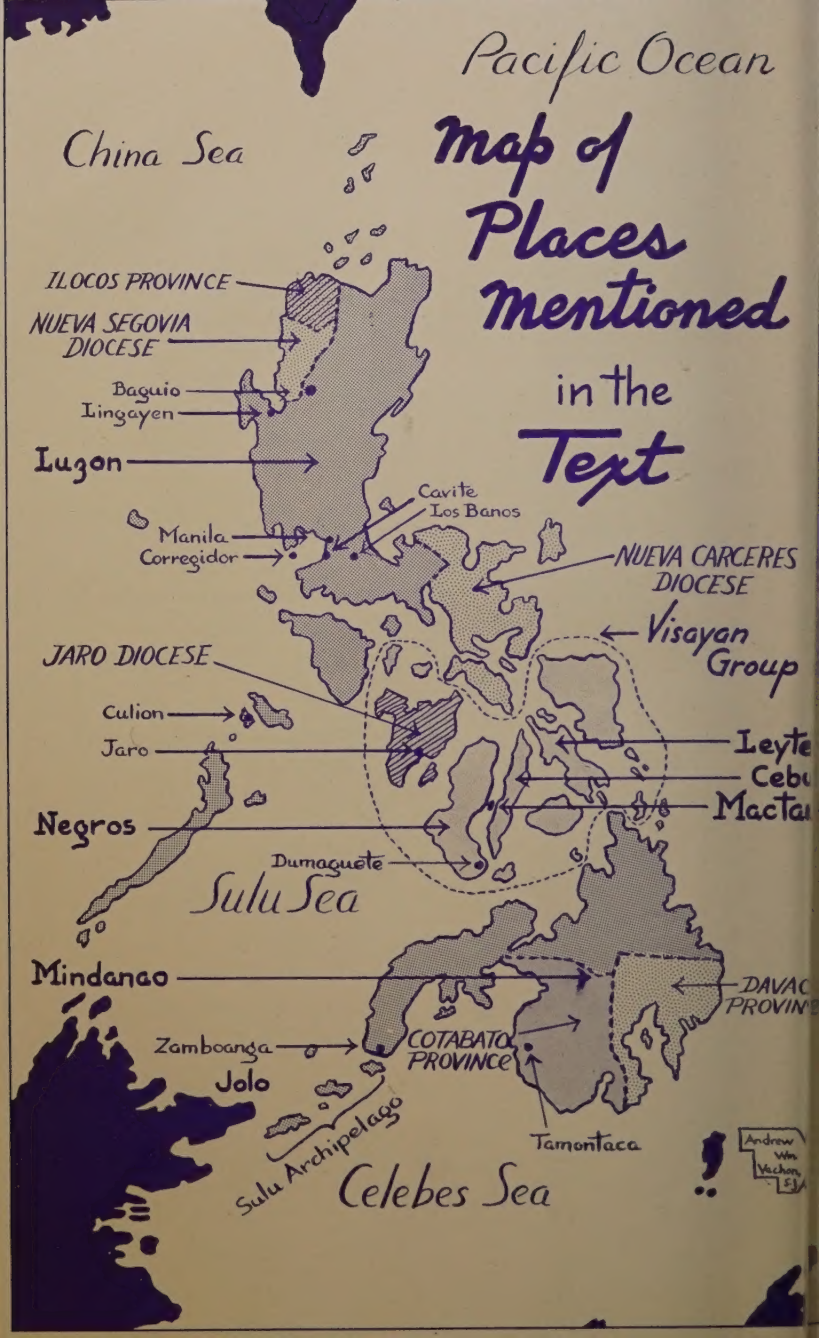
by

Francis X. Clark, S.J.


Pacific Ocean
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Map of Places Mentioned in the Text
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Baguio
Lingayen
Lugon
Cavite
Los Banos
Manila
Corregidor
NUEVA CARCERES DIOCESE
Visayan Group
JARO DIOCESE
Culion
Jaro
Leyte
Cebu
Mactan
Negros
Dumaguete
Sulu Sea
Mindanao
DAVAO PROVINCE
Zamboanga
COTABATO PROVINCE
Jolo
Tamontaca
Sulu Archipelago
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The Philippine Missions

A Study of the Apostolate in the Islands from King Philip of Spain to Pope Pius XII

By

Francis X. Clark, S.J.

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THE PHILIPPINE MISSIONS PAST AND MODERN

1. How It All Began

1. On September 20, 1519, an expedition sailed out of the Spanish harbor of Seville. There were five ships and 237 men, under the command of Ferdinand Magellan.

2. About three years later, on September 8, 1522, the expedition returned. There was one ship now, and eighteen men, Magellan not among them. But those eighteen had circumnavigated the world, and brought with them to Europe the first news of the Philippine Islands.

> At dawn on Saturday, March sixteen, 1521, we came upon a high land at a distance of three hundred leagues from the islands of Latroni. . . .[1] . . . There are many islands in that district, and therefore we called them the archipelago of San Lazaro, as they were discovered on the Sabbath of St. Lazarus. . . .[2]

3. It was with the people of Cebu that Magellan met his greatest success and his death. For on that island Filipinos became subjects of Spain and, after some instruction, Catholics; "not for fear or to please us, but of their own free wills." And Pigafetta relates how on April 14, before Mass and after dinner, the King and Queen and some 800 were baptized.

1. Antonio Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage Around the World*, tr. by James A. Robertson (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906) 1, p. 99.
2. Ibid., p. 105.

4. But the end was near for Magellan. Joining battle with his new friends against their tribal enemies, he fell pierced by many spears on the island of Mactan, April 27, 1521. Then trouble began between the Spaniards and natives, and twenty-six Spaniards were killed at a banquet. Hearing of this, the others took to the boats, sailed away and eventually reached Spain.

5. Juan Sebastian del Caño was in command of the eighteen survivors. Among his rewards from the King was the right to use on his escutcheon a globe with this motto: *Primus circumdedit me.*

The Strange Gods Before Him

6. So the first expedition came and went. But other Spaniards would come to stay. To understand their missionary work, one must first understand the religious and social structure of the early inhabitants of the Philippines.

7. They were of the Malay race, and had probably migrated across southern seas and islands to the Philippines. There they lost their roving habits to settle in little groups or tribes under local chiefs.

8. Politically and socially they never arrived at unity, had no one king or sovereign. They numbered about 650,000 in that 16th Century, lived in accord with justice, had weights and measures, an alphabet and a clever system of writing.

9. Their religion was animistic.[3] It found spirits, called *anitos,* in trees, caves and birds. There were good *anitos* to venerate, evil *anitos* to propitiate. They believed in a future life of reward and punishment, but had little idea how or where. Priestesses, called *catalonas,* were experienced sorcerers and fostered superstition. Polygamy was not at all uncommon. Divorce was easy, though after the birth of children separation was comparatively rare.

10. There were no regular temples, for houses were places of worship. Idols were plenty; as representative of spirits, they

3. The Mohamemedan *Moros,* of course, always excepted. They shall be treated separately.

were called *anitos,* too. But here again, each person possessed and made his own idols, without any fixed rule or ceremony.

In brief, there was no stubborn doctrinal or liturgical system to block Divine Grace. As one of the first historians wrote:

> All this was with so little aid, apparatus or foundation—which God permitted, so that . . . those natives would confess the truth more easily and it would be less difficult to withdraw them from their darkness. . . .[4]

Coming to Stay

11. Of the next three expeditions—del Caño and Loaisa in 1525, Saavedra in 1527, Villalobos in 1542—there was only one permanent result: the name of the Philippines.

For in 1543 Villalobos called one of the islands *Isla Felipina,* after Prince Philip, heir apparent and later Philip II. Magellan's *Archipiélago de San Lázaro* became *Islas Filipinas.*

In 1564 Miguel Legaspi left Mexico with the men who would colonize the islands permanently. He settled in Cebu in 1565. With him were five Augustinian friars, headed by Fr. Andres de Urdaneta, who was likewise chief pilot of the expedition.

12. Urdaneta is the first great missionary of the Philippines, though circumstances prevented actual apostolic work. Before becoming an Augustinian, he had been a captain in the wars in the Low Countries, had studied navigation, and had piloted Loaisa's expedition across Pacific waters. Shortly after Legaspi landed in the Philippines, he sent Urdaneta back to Mexico to find a shorter route, and from there to Spain to report to Philip II. He did both, returning to Mexico to die in 1568.[5]

Legaspi, hearing of a city to the north called *Maynila,* held by Moros, sent men to investigate in 1570. They reported favorably, and in May, 1571, Legaspi established headquarters there. Spain had come to stay.

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4. Antonio Morga, *Events Of The Philippine Islands* (Mexico, 1609) in Vol. 16, p. 132 of a standard work on the Philippines: E. Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands* (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Co., 1902-1909) 55 volumes. This set collects, translates and annotates the outstanding documents from earliest days to 1898. It will be referred to hereafter as B&R.

5. In Manila there stands an impressive monument to Legaspi and Urdaneta. Cast in bronze in Spain, and sent to the Philippines sometime before 1898, it had never been erected. The American military government found it in a warehouse. Putting the various pieces together, they had it erected near Manila Bay.

2.

"Without A Parallel in History"

'In the light, then, of impartial history raised above race prejudice and religious prepossessions, after a comparison with the early years of the Spanish conquest in America or with the first generation or two of the English settlements, the conversion and civilization of the Philippines in the forty years following Legaspi's arrival must be pronounced an achievement without a parallel in history.'[1]

Missionary Conquest

13. In 1565 Legaspi reached Cebu. In 1571 he settled in Manila. Just fourteen years later, in 1585, Manila had a bishop, Domingo Salazar, O.P. In 1598 Manila was an Archbishopric, and three other dioceses were created: Cebu, Nueva Carceres and Nueva Segovia. By 1605 most Filipinos were baptized Catholics. How did it all happen so quickly?

Briefly, there were four reasons:

14. a) The King, Philip II, sincerely intended the conversion of the people. The documents emphasize that. Whether intermediate officials always carried out his wishes, is another question. He himself wanted it.

b) The early missionaries were great. With all due allowances for human failings, they were zealous, kind, inspiring. During that 16th Century the Counter-Reformation was blazing in Europe, and these missionaries carried sparks to the Philippines.

The Augustinians were the first to arrive, accompanying Legaspi in 1565. In 1577 the Franciscans came; in 1581 the Jesuits; in 1587 the Dominicans; then the Recollects later, in 1606.

What is more, their zeal was not at all limited to the Philippines. They considered them a stepping stone to the continent of Asia, and from the Philippines they went forth to labor and die in China and Japan.

1. Edward G. Bourne, *Historical Introduction*, B&R 1, p. 37. Bourne was not a Catholic. A Professor at Yale, he is an authority on Spanish colonization.

15. c) The military conquest was mild, with little battle or bloodshed. Salcedo "conquered" the northern part of the island of Luzon with forty-five men, and in 1590 the Spanish standing army numbered 400 soldiers. But here again, the missionaries' influence counted. The cross and the sword went together, but the cross won first and the sword was seen in its shadow.

d) Finally, as noted before, the native religion was not a ponderous thing. Though the people were pagan, given to idolatry, superstitions, slavery and polygamy, there was no impenetrable *system*.

16. As for the Moros, neither during those forty years nor at any other time were they converted. Individuals here, or a group there; but never in any great numbers. In fact, Spain scarcely ever subdued them, and for years to come they would be raiding the coasts as far north as Manila.

Yet, though they were not converted, they were through converting others. If Spain had not come when she did, all the Philippines would have been Mohammedan. For the Moros had already taken over Mindanao, and were working northward. Even to check them was a triumph for Spain and the missionaries.

Heaven and All This Too

17. The missionaries did not spend all their time preaching about heaven. With the Faith they carried civilization and culture.

They brought the latest methods of farming. They improved the rice culture. They imported Indian corn and cacao from America, developed the cultivation of sugar cane, coffee and indigo.

They taught the people how to build with mortar and stone. Like Urdaneta, the Jesuit Fr. Sedeno had been a soldier and had studied the art of fortification. In Manila he planned and supervised the construction of the Episcopal palace, and of the fortress built in 1584.

Quickly the missionaries applied themselves to the Filipino dialects. Within a few years printing presses in Manila were turning out catechisms and devotional books.

Education grew apace. The Jesuits founded the College of Manila in 1596 (which became the University of San Ignacio in 1623), and the College of San Jose in 1601. The College of Santo Tomas was begun by the Dominicans in 1619; it also became a University in 1623 and endures to the present day, the oldest university under the American flag.

18. To the missionaries, too, goes the credit for fighting against the slavery of exploitation. Many colonies have given great wealth to the home country, but too often wealth stained with blood. It was not so in the Philippines. There were mines there, yet the missionaries always figured it was far better for the gold to lie in them than the Filipinos. As early as 1591 Bishop Salazar journeyed to Spain to see the King in person and thus prevent, among other things, any inhuman exploitation. And one of the prime reasons why ecclesiastical and civil officials would battle all down the years was precisely that—the desire of the missionaries to protect the people.

In a word, those early missionaries were an ideal. They were spiritual men, cultured men, and practical.

19. In 1606 Antonio Morga wrote his *Sucesos de Islas Filipinas,* or "Events of the Philippine Islands," in which he placidly describes conditions. The main work was done. Manila, for instance, had a cathedral, churches, streets; many of the towns likewise had their churches. In fact, the Philippines seem to have changed little thereafter until about 1850.

Manila even had four hospitals. One was for the Spaniards; another for the Filipinos, administered by three Franciscan priests and four Lay Brothers, who were physicians and apothecaries; then, a House of Mercy for sick slaves, poor women and orphan girls; a fourth for the Chinese shopkeepers.[2]

On this Bourne comments: "In provisions for the sick and helpless, Manila at the opening of the 17th Century was far in advance of any city in the English colonies for more than a century and a half to come. . . ."[3] For the first regular hospital in the English colonies was Pennsylvania Hospital, incorporated in 1751.

2. Antonio Morga, *Events Of The Philippine Islands* (Mexico, 1606); in B&R, 16, pp. 142-143.
3. Edward G. Bourne, *Historical Introduction*, in B&R, 1, p. 43.

3.

Long Peace and an Explosion (1605-1898)

Historical Background (1605-1850)

20. After this period of activity and all the work it accomplished, Spanish energy slackened, and the next 250 years are remarkably of one piece. While decade passed over decade, conditions seemed to vary but little.

There was the usual succession of civil governors and officials, good, bad and indifferent. Because far too many came unabashedly to make or re-make a fortune, the official finances of the Islands were usually in a bad state.

21. Since the Philippines were so far distant from Spain and the supreme power residing there, disputes and quarrels had to be expected. The marvel is that there were not more. Each group would hasten to get the royal ear, and many a vessel came sailing into Manila Bay with a precious cargo of royal decrees to settle this or that. Some of the struggles had their climactic moments, as when an archbishop would be imprisoned by a governor general, or when a governor general was killed by a mob. But such moments were relatively rare over the 250 years, and Philippine life went on peacefully.

22. One short-sighted policy of Spain, of irreparable harm to the Islands, was the commercial regulation limiting direct Philippine trade with South America. During the first thirty years, unrestricted commerce with Peru and other countries had produced a certain prosperity. From then on, however, trade was practically reduced to the Manila-Mexico galleon, which soon degenerated into a gambling match and left the people with little to do for ten months of the year. With trade thus crippled and incentive gone, the business spirit of the Philippines almost perished from sheer inaction.

23. One of the few foreign events of these years was the two year period when the English flag flew over Manila. Spain and

England had declared war in Europe. England sent Admiral Draper to attack the Philippines. One morning in September, 1762, his fleet appeared off Manila. The Spaniards, having heard nothing of any war, were utterly unprepared. The Governor General being absent, Archbishop Rojo was chosen to surrender the city. The English ruled the region of Manila till 1764, when, by the treaty of peace, the Islands reverted to Spain.

All this history, however, is but background. In a mission study like this, the mission interests are the main interests. And no interest is more important in any mission than the native clergy.

Native Clergy

24. Spain ruled the Philippines for 333 years. Yet when the Spanish flag came down in 1898, the five Bishops were all Spanish; not one was Filipino. And though there were Filipino priests, both profound historians and casual visitors admitted that the quantity and quality were not what they should have been.

What happened?

Any answer is very complicated, and cannot be adequately sketched in a few paragraphs. Still more, the whole history is difficult to relate. But since the era is long passed, its grievances forgotten, and conditions now changed, it is helpful to know this part of mission history, even as we know of the Rites Question of early China.

25. It must be observed from the start that the question of the native clergy in the Philippines is only one small aspect of the whole native clergy question in all Spanish colonies. Somehow it seems that wherever Spain colonized, despite her other achievements, she had little success with native vocations. To this day most of South and Central America suffers from a shortage of priests. The fault probably lies in the Spanish temperament or system.

26. Through Philippine history and documents, this strange concept is common: the Filipino priests were trained to *help* Spanish priests in the parishes. Occasionally they became pastors of some parishes, even of some regions, but ordinarily they were

to be perpetual curates in the big parishes, assisting with the administration of the Sacraments and the more ordinary parish duties.

27. As for the frequent complaint of Spaniards, even bishops, that Filipino priests were not fit, two questions jump immediately to the average mind: 1) If they were not fit, why did the Spaniards not give them an intensive training to make them fit? Yet, the ordinary training seems to have been anything but well rounded. 2) If they were not fit, why were they ordained?

As the Editor of *The Ecclesiastical Review* wrote in those controversial years around 1900:

> Who put these Filipino priests in the field? Who are the Bishops that ordained them? And who are the pastors that tolerated them as their assistants in the sacred ministry, since there were practically none but Spanish bishops and pastors in the Islands, having authority?[1]

28. Perhaps the fairest explanation of the problem stems from a view of the whole ancient colonial system. No country then was training its colonies for ultimate independence. Since the Spanish Government, therefore, had absolutely no intention of training the Filipinos to take over their own government, it was contrary to that whole current of thought to train them to take over their own Church.

Or as Archbishop O'Doherty expressed it in 1926:

> A careful analysis of after events will lead one to the conclusion that if the Spanish friars made a mistake in their policy of governing the Filipinos, it was solely in this that they failed to realize that a day might come when Spanish sovereignty in the Islands would cease. . . . They neglected the Catholic principle that no Church can rest upon a substantial basis unless it is manned by a native clergy. . . .[2]

Episcopal Visitation

29. This controversy, so closely allied with that of the native clergy, is fortunately now long dead. Yet it, too, is of interest for the Missions. We of today do not realize how much travail begot our present canonical clarity.

The situation can never be understood unless approached as it happened. There were three facts and presto! A problem.

1. H. J. Heuser, "Catholic Journalism and The Friar Question," *The Ecclesiastical Review* 27 (1902) 266-273, p. 272.
2. Archbishop M. J. O'Doherty, "The Religious Situation in The Philippines," *The Ecclesiastical Review* 74 (1926) 129-138, p. 131.

a) Religious Orders do not take beneficed curacies, and ordinarily live a common life in a community.

b) The rapid conversion of the Philippines presented a difficulty. Here were thousands of new Catholics, scattered over many islands, who needed a parish priest in their midst. Who would offer Mass, baptize, marry, bury? It would have been strange for a group of priests to live together in one town or city when people everywhere needed parish priests.

c) So there was one logical step. The Holy See granted permission for the Religious Orders to fill the parishes and live by themselves until diocesan priests could supplant them.

Then came the problem: who appointed the pastor of the parish, the Bishop or the Provincial of the Religious? And what rights had each over the pastor in the church?

The Bishops' case was absolutely clear. Since the Spanish and Filipino diocesan priests were never sufficient, practically all the parishes were under Religious. So the Bishops' authority in many details would be nominal.

30. Yet, unfortunately, the other side was equally clear. There would be no end of divided responsibility and conflict of jurisdiction if the incumbent were immediately subject to the Bishop as well as to his Provincial, especially since at times a civil official entered into the question. The vice-patron, for instance, had sometimes to agree before a Religious holding a parish could be removed. And about 1767 Governor Raon went so far as to direct that Provincials should submit to him the names of three friars for each vacancy, and he would have the ultimate power of selecting the candidate.

Under such conditions the Religious preferred to leave the parishes, and several times actually began to depart.

Intermittently the question would be raised, especially under Archbishop Poblete in 1653 and Archbishop Camacho in 1697. Despite numerous decrees and Bulls, it was never satisfactorily settled, since each side produced conflicting documents.

31. Then in 1767 came Archbishop Santa Justa y Rufina, one of the Fathers of the Pious Schools, who was determined to settle the issue.

His solution solved nothing and complicated everything. In a word, he laid the burden of the priesthood on Filipinos he had scarcely trained. And though popular sayings are more clever than true, this was the popular saying in Manila: *Que no se encontraban bogadores para los pancos, porque a todos los habia ordenado el arzobispo.*—"There were no rowers to be found for the boats, because the Archbishop had ordained them all."

The result, of course, was disastrous, as it would have been anywhere in the world. In 1776 a royal decree ordered the friars back to the parishes; there they remained to the end.

From then on the Filipino clergy question entered its last unhappy phase, in which nationalism, religion and race were heaped together in one complicated muddle. It figured prominently in the revolution to come.

The Happiest of the Orient

32. From what has been said it is not to be imagined that the life of the Filipinos for all those years was one of suffering and oppression. For the very opposite is true.

The fairest estimate of the Philippines must be secured from foreign residents and visitors. Time and again through these two centuries, foreigners praise conditions in the Philippines. They admit that the Islands are behind the times in many respects, but the advantages far outweighed the disadvantages. The comments of these men, not Spaniards and most of them non-Catholic, give us the clearest picture and are always sketched in any survey of the period.[3]

La Perouse, a French explorer, wrote in 1787: "These people seemed to me no way inferior to those of Europe. . . . I have gone through their villages and I have found them kind, hospitable, affable. . . ."

Crawfurd, an English historian, compared them to other colonies in 1820: ". . . From the time Europeans touched their shores, almost every other colony has gone back; the Philippines alone have improved in civilization, wealth and populousness. . . ."

3. Edward G. Bourne, *Historical Introduction*, in B&R, 1, pp. 70-76, conveniently groups these citations.

Mallat, a scientifically trained Frenchman, thought in 1846 that "they led a freer, happier and more placid life than was to be found in the colonies of any other nation."

Jagor, a German scientist, wrote in 1859-60:

> . . . They have no doubt passed a more comfortable life during recent centuries than the people of any tropical country, whether under their own or European rule . . . much due to the monks.[4] . . . Even their haughty opposition to the secular authorities was generally for the advantage of the natives.

Sawyer, an English engineer, commented likewise in 1859: "The islands were badly governed by Spain, yet Spaniards and natives lived together in great harmony. . . ."

Lord Elgin, returning from a mission to China, visited Manila and found something to admire in the Spanish system. He said in 1861:

> They (rulers and natives) are not separated from each other by that unpassable barrier of mutual contempt, suspicion and antipathy which alienates us (the British) from the unhappy natives in those lands where we settle ourselves among inferior orders of men. . . .[5]

Finally, Sir William Palgrave summed it up well when he wrote in 1878: ". . . and if under such a rule 'progress,' as we love to term it, be rare, disaffection and want are rarer still. . . ."

Trouble and the End (1850-1898)

33. Yet this paternalistic system of government could not last forever. Spain was crumbling from within.

From 1835 to 1897, some 62 years, there were fifty Governor-Generals in the Philippines, an average of one year and three months for each. In fact, it was only through the friars that Spain retained her influence at all. They alone were permanent, amid all the changes and vagaries of the civil government.

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4. Non-Catholic writers on the Philippines often call all missionaries "monks." Yet, as Thomas C. Middleton, O.S.A. and James A. Robertson point out, the only monks ever in the Islands were the Benedictines, who arrived in 1896, just two years before the Spanish regime ended. The Augustinian, Dominican, Franciscan and Recollect Friars remained from the beginning. The Jesuits stayed until 1768, when Charles III expelled them from all Spanish dominions. They were away for almost a century, the first six members of the restored Society returning in 1859, when they took up missions among the Moros in Mindanao and educational work in Manila. See T. C. Middleton, O.S.A. in B&R, 40, p. 184 and Jas. A. Robertson, "Catholicism In The Philippine Islands," *Catholic Historical Review* 3 (1917-1918) 375-391, p. 377.

5. George M. Wrong, *The Earl of Elgin* (London, Methuen & Co., 1905) p. 279.

34. In some things, however, the Church was too closely joined to the State. In the early years, for instance, few Spanish officials would live in the small towns and villages around the Islands. Life was too dull, the pay was too meager. In one half of some 1,200 villages the only Spaniard was the missionary. It took heroic virtue, but the missionaries lived there year after year for the spiritual good of the people.

35. Very naturally, what little civil business there was devolved upon the missionary. In one sense, he was glad of the opportunity, since he could thus prevent measures oppressing the people. Later, he became a sort of supervisor of state functions with a religious angle, as prisons, statistics and taxation. The people, of course, far preferred him to some grasping government official.

But what began so casually became fixed, and as the 19th Century went on, the friars were looked upon as a part of the Spanish governmental regime.

Then came rapid changes. In 1814 Manila was opened to foreign trade. In 1852 a steamship line began between Barcelona and Manila. In 1869 the first vessel moved through the Suez Canal, and the voyage between Spain and her colony was now much shorter.

36. Into the Philippines, then, came Spanish Masons, liberals, free-thinkers, anti-clericals and adventurers; many were exiled and, therefore, seeking revenge, just as in Spain and the rest of 19th Century Europe, they began to plot against the Church and "the order of things." They were at the source of the charges and calumnies against the friars, and even the Katipunan, the Filipino revolutionary group, borrowed from Masonry.

As the revolutionary spirit grew against the abuses, the Spanish Government never seemed to know what to do. Ultimately, their every measure failed. When they deported the leaders, these exiles turned authors and won European sympathy for their cause. If the officials reacted violently, as in 1872, when they crushed the Cavite rebellion by secret trial and executions, the people were more incensed. For among those executed were

three Filipino priests, Rev. Jose Burgos, Mariano Gomez and Jacinto Zamora, who today are national heroes.

37. Then in 1896 Rizal was executed. Jose Rizal, the Philippine National Hero, would have been a distinguished man in any country. He was gifted in many fields: A doctor, writer, poet, sculptor, linguist. Educated at the Ateneo de Manila and the University of Santo Tomas, he continued his studies in Spain; afterwards he lived in France, England and Germany where he became proficient in six European languages. In 1888 he journeyed across the United States on another trip to Europe.

In Europe his associates were Masonic. Gradually he drifted from the Church and incorporated into his books Masonic anti-friar propaganda. Back in the Philippines, he was invited to join the Bonifacio revolution, but refused. He contended that violence would effect little, that the people needed civic education to prepare them to use any new rights. The Spaniards, however, suspected and feared him. On December 30, 1896, he fell before a firing squad in Manila.

The night before he died, he admitted his old Jesuit professors to his cell and returned to the Church.[6] In all the Philippines there is scarcely a town that has not today its statue of Rizal.

38. Bonifacio's revolution was crushed, but another leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, carried on for the next year or so. In 1897, by the pact of Biak-na-bato, peace returned when the Spanish Government promised reforms and deposited $400,000 in a Hong Kong bank for Aguinaldo and his leaders if they would desist from revolution.

Though uprisings continued to take place in Luzon, things were quiet for the moment.

Then on February 15, 1898, the Maine blew up in Havana harbor. It was an explosion heard round the world. For by April 21 Spain and the United States were at war, and Admiral Dewey was under orders to proceed full speed ahead for Manila.

6. Rizal's retractation: "I declare myself a Catholic . . . etc., was recited by almost 100,000 men on "Men's Night" at the Eucharistic Congress in Manila, February 3-7, 1937.

4.

Enter America

Historical Background

39. Dewey slipped past Corregidor during the night of April 30, 1898. In the morning he faced the Spanish fleet drawn up before the naval base of Cavite. By afternoon he faced a Spanish fleet sinking in flames. The total American casualty list was one man wounded.

Manila now lay under Dewey's guns, but as he had no men to capture and garrison the city, American soldiers prepared to leave San Francisco. Meanwhile, when Aguinaldo came down from Hong Kong on the American revenue cutter McCulloch, Dewey supplied him with arms to attack the Spaniards around Manila, which he did well.

40. Here arose another of the misunderstandings which complicate Philippine history. Briefly, Aguinaldo claimed Dewey promised him independence if he helped the Americans, that the only American intention was to defeat the Spaniards. Dewey claims he was merely using Aguinaldo's help against a common foe, without any promise for the future, which, moreover, he had no right to make. When later Aguinaldo saw that it all meant not independence, but a change of masters, he began the insurrection against America which lasted until 1901.

General Merritt arrived with American troops, and on the morning of August 13 they assaulted the walls of Manila. Again it was "no contest." Down came the flag of Spain. The Stars and Stripes floated over Fort Santiago.

41. The battle of Manila on land and sea finished, the battle of wits and words began in Washington and all over the country. *Could* the U. S. have colonies? Did the Constitution follow the flag? What was this "Manifest Destiny"? On the struggle raged between the "Imperialists" and the "Anti-Imperialists."

President McKinley himself told a Methodist Episcopal Missionary Committee how he walked the floors of the White House night after night, how he even got down on his knees and prayed

Almighty God for light and guidance. One night late it came to him like this:

> . . . we could not give them back to Spain—that would be cowardly and dishonorable; we could not turn them over to France or Germany—that would be bad business and discreditable; we could not leave them to themselves—they were unfit for self-government; and there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filippinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God's grace do the very best we could by them. . . .[1]

Though to "Christianize them" was a most puzzling statement, that general solution won out among American leaders, and by the Treaty of Paris, December 10, 1898, the United States took over the Philippines. The Senate ratified the treaty on February 6, 1899.

A new era was beginning.

Colonies Reflect the Mother Country

Spain

42. At this turning point of Philippine history, it is imperative, especially for Catholics, to compare Spain and the United States. No one can appraise what Spain *did* in the Philippines, unless he knows what Spain *was*. To judge Spain by American principles begets fatal misunderstandings, for the whole history of the two countries had prepared them in different ways for the same task.

Spain, for instance, had fought for 800 years against the Moors, and 800 years is a long time any way you look at it. During all those generations Spaniards had a single aim with a double aspect—to save their Faith against the infidels and their country against a foreign invader. No arbitrary contract joined Church and State; they were fused by the blood of those 800 years. "For Church and Spain" was a Spanish first principle.

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1. Charles S. Olcott, *The Life of William McKinley*, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916) 2, p. 110. This, of course, is McKinley's version. Some historians are not so sure of such sentiments. See, for instance, Parker Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics*, (New York, MacMillan, 1939) pp. 394-395, who adds some strong comments to McKinley's statements. For however we explain it, some American leaders at that time were swept off their feet by a wave of imperialism. See Senator Albert J. Beveridge's amazing speech: "The March Of The Flag" (Sept. 17, 1898) . . . "which voiced the spirit of the day and throws light on the trend of thought which determined the nation on its departure from its earlier ideals . . ." Claude G. Bowers, *Beveridge And The Progressive Era*, (Cambridge, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1932) pp. 73-76. The wave of imperialism faded soon after, but around 1900 it was there.

In 1492 Isabella and Ferdinand drove the last Moor from Spain, and Spain rose from that battle of Granada with a religious and patriotic enthusiasm rarely equalled in history. Teresa, John of the Cross, Thomas of Villanova, Peter of Alcantara, Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier, Francis Borgia, Vitoria, Suarez, Charles V, Philip II, Cortez, Balboa, Coronado—they made history. Greatness was in the air then, and many Spaniards breathed deeply.

But that epoch passed, and the tragedy of Spain is that she never could realize she was declining.

43. With the French Revolution and the changes it wrought over Europe, Spain began to go down fast. Revolutions recur all through her 19th Century; her leaders were often Liberals, Masons, anti-clericals. Weak within her borders, she could not but be still more weak beyond them. As South America realized the situation, there were many new republics. And Spain's last days in Cuba and the Philippines were sad.

Most Anglo-Saxon writers condemn Spain for her early *Conquistadores* and the scandals of her last years. Neither need be denied. But the *Conquistadores* had committed most of their violence before Spain knew of it at home, and from then on the laws favored the natives as in no other colony. The last years were tragic, but justice must judge on her whole four centuries of colonization, not just on the beginning and the end.

Spain was great, but she grew tired and monotonous. She kept using the same methods all the time. In 1600 they were admirable. In 1850 they were not, precisely because the world had gone on.

The United States

As Spain was, Spain acted. Applying that principle now to the United States, what sort of nation were we in 1898?

44. America had been founded by a multitude of religious groups, refugees from the religious wars following the Reformation. When the founding Fathers came to write the Constitution, their solution of the problem was to decree freedom of religion. The separation of "Churches" and State became a first principle of American Democracy.

Because America had been a melting pot of nations, our patriotism and racial pride had always been of a sober and sensible type. It is amusing to read a Spanish forecast of the Battle of Manila Bay: "We will win, because as soon as fire is opened the crews of the American ships will begin to desert, since we all know that among them are people of all nationalities." Even an English technical magazine spoke in the same strain.[2] Because of our historical background, sympathy for "the underdog" had always characterized us.

America had next almost a passion for hygiene, sanitation, comfort. It had made the United States the most developed country in the world. Paved streets, dredged harbors, big bridges—Americans take them for granted, grow impatient with undeveloped resources.

Finally, the United States believed in education. "The little red schoolhouse" was everywhere. Not all nations are that way, and the simplest answer to American amazement that Spain never educated all the Filipinos is that she never educated all her own people. America, however, was dedicated to a principle: A democracy cannot live without an educated electorate.

As America was then, America would act. These American characteristics will be reflected in our Philippine policy.

The Early Years

45. The situation in the Philippines about 1900 was a muddle. Spain was leaving, the United States was taking charge; institutions and customs of 300 years standing were changed overnight. The Philippine Commission supplanted the American Military Government in 1901. Leo XIII, acting for the Church, appointed Archbishop Chappelle of New Orleans as Apostolic Visitor, and he reported to Rome.

There were many thorny problems to settle, the first of which concerned the friar lands.

46. Aguinaldo's government had attempted to confiscate all the lands of the friars, and a most frequent complaint heard by the early American commissioners was on that same point. Here

2. Charles Burke Elliot, *The Philippines To The End of The Military Regime*, (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1917) p. 291.

the Philippines were following 19th Century Europe, where Masonic anti-clerical groups had been claiming Church property. As for the implication that the friars possessed "practically all the land" in the archipelago, one of the wild statements frequently repeated in the American press at that time, it was completely false. Only fifty years before, in 1842, a Spanish official of long years experience complained that "in Laguna and other provinces there are most fertile fields, abandoned and at the disposal of any one who will take them."[3]

47. But Taft faced a practical difficulty. On the friar lands lived tenants, one more Spanish system that was commendable in the early days when the missionaries were teaching the people to live together and to farm more scientifically, but which by now was completely antiquated. Not wishing to evict the tenants by force, Taft decided on a plan satisfactory to all—to purchase the lands by a Government bond issue, then re-sell them gradually to the people.

To the Vatican Taft went in person, with Bishop Thomas Gorman of Sioux Falls, Justice James E. Smith, a Catholic member of the early Philippine Commission, and Colonel John Porter of the U. S. Army as interpreters and advisers. In Rome the ground was cleared. Leo XIII appointed Archbishop Guidi to go to the Philippines, where over the next year and a half the problem was settled by government purchase.[4]

During the next few years the Spanish friars gradually left the Islands, and this was the blow from which the Philippines have not yet recovered. In 1898 there were about 1,000 friars. In 1904 there were 250 left; of these, most were in educational work in Manila, others were too old for active duty. About 700 parishes were left without a priest.

48. In December, 1902, Leo XIII sent his Pontifical Letter *Quae mari sinico* to the Philippine Hierarchy, on the condition of the Church there and what must be done. After the statement

3. Don Juan M. de la Matta in B&R, 52. p. 42.

4. That Friar Lands controversy still is a favorite topic with anti-Catholic writers. In 1940, for instance, Dr. Kenneth Kurihara, of the University of the Philippines, published an article in Manila charging that the Catholic Church was the largest owner of Philippine lands. Asked for proof, he quoted an article in the *Nation* in New York for 1937! Yet the statistics are furnished to all by the Bureau of Lands in Manila. The Church lands comprise 3/20ths of 1 per cent, an insignificant amount, as can readily be seen by drawing a box with 100 squares and marking off just 3/20ths of one square.

that ". . . the change in civil matters there has affected religion also; for when the Spanish yoke was removed the patronage of the Spanish kings ceased, and as a result the Church attained to a larger share of liberty, ensuring for everyone rights which are safe and unassailable," he went on to create four new dioceses and to recommend the utmost care for a Filipino clergy: ". . . the Bishops must make it their care to increase the number of native priests."[5]

Rome likewise saw quickly that American bishops were absolutely necessary. One by one the Spanish bishops resigned; the Apostolic Delegate in Washington, Diomede Falconio, began to notify American priests that they were now bishops.

Jeremiah J. Harty, Pastor of St. Leo's in St. Louis, was named Archbishop of Manila. Thomas A. Hendrick, of Rochester, became Bishop of Cebu. Frederick C. Rooker, attached to the Legation in Washington, was placed in the diocese of Jaro. And Denis Dougherty, Professor of Theology at Overbrook Seminary, Phila., was chosen for the diocese of Nueva Segovia, in northern Luzon.[6]

Bishop Dougherty was consecrated in Rome on June 14, 1903. There he was told: ". . . your seminary is dismantled. Its students are scattered we know not where, and therefore at the very beginning of your administration, you must take to the Philippine Islands with you, in order to open that seminary, trained priests."

49. Back in Philadelphia again, he recruited his volunteers: Fathers James J. Carroll and John B. MacGinley, professors with Bishop Dougherty at Overbrook Seminary, Philadelphia, and Fathers Cook, James P. McCloskey and Daniel J. Gercke, engaged in pastoral work.[7]

5. *The Ecclesiastical Review*, 28 (1903) 330-339.

6. Archbishop Harty remained as head of the Church in the Philippines until 1916, when he was named Archbishop of Omaha; he died in 1927. Bishop Rooker died four years later in his diocese. Bishop Hendrick also gave his life in the Philippines, dying in 1909. Bishop Dougherty moved to Jaro after Bishop Rooker's death, then became Bishop of Buffalo in 1915 after twelve years in the Islands.

7. Fr. Carroll succeeded Bishop Dougherty in the see of Nueva Segovia; health gone, he returned and died in Philadelphia in 1913. Fr. MacGinley was Bishop of Nueva Cáceres, 1910-1924, then of Monterey-Fresno in California. Fr. Gercke was in the Philippines till 1919, is at present the Bishop of Tucson, Arizona. Fr. Cook's slight constitution gave way under his labors; he died in Philadelphia in 1909. Fr. McCloskey became Bishop of Jaro; he lived all through the Japanese occupation, but passed away a few weeks after liberation in 1945. His association with the Philippines, therefore, extended over forty years, a remarkable achievement.

They reached Manila on October 6, 1903. Bishop Rooker came about the same time, with Archbishop Harty and Bishop Hendrick arriving a month or so later. They were the first group of missionary bishops the American Church had ever sent.

To understand the problems they faced then, and the problems the Church would have to struggle with down the years, even to the present, it is necessary to consider the four main obstacles in detail.

What Is a Catholic Country?

50. The first problem was a whole mental attitude, engendered partly by bad history, partly by American Protestants.

Formulated briefly, it ran like this: Spain is now a third rate power, *and* Catholic. The U. S. is a great power, *and* not Catholic.

It was only the shortest of steps to assert that Spain was decadent *because* Catholic, and America great *because* not Catholic.

That term "a Catholic country" is a dangerous thing. We can't control it like we can "a Catholic school" or "a Catholic magazine." Actually Spain's government during the last century and a half had been anything but Catholic, when her officials were confiscating Church property, expelling Religious Orders and the like.

Then, though it was false that America was all Protestant, a clever case could be made for it. Just a statement like: "Of course, there has never been a Catholic President or Vice-President," while true, could imply a thousand facts not true.

Over and over again that reasoning was used to win Filipinos to Protestantism or to scientific indifferentism. For examples: "Why are you a Catholic? Because you were a subject of old, uneducated Spain, and Spain was Catholic. But now you are a subject of great and educated America; you should follow the religion and mentality of America."

The American Protestants

What an opportunity the Protestants had!

They above all others could take advantage of the expression: America great *because* not Catholic. They had money, novelty, manpower, and a powerful ally and argument in the overwhelming majority of Protestants in the government service.

Their zeal was amazing. They were on the spot in 1899 and 1900, and by July 1902 the Methodists had a press and paper in Manila, the Baptists the same in Jaro. In Dumaguete the Presbyterians had a school, Silliman Institute, which, they said, ". . . gives promise of great usefulness." The British and Foreign Bible Society, together with the American Bible Society, worked on translations of the New Testament into the various dialects; by 1901 they had distributed the total of 141,212 bibles.[8]

Skillfully, too, they profited from mistakes in previous missions elsewhere. On April 24-26, 1901, the Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodist Episcopal, United Brethren Churches, the Christian Missionary Alliance, the Y.M.C.A., American Bible Society, British and Foreign Bible Society united to form The Evangelical Union. "The idea of the use of a common name is that Catholics will recognize all Protestants as one great force."[9]

They then passed their resolution regarding the division of territory:

> WHEREAS the evangelization of these people will be more speedily accomplished by a division of the territory, thus avoiding the waste of labor, time and money arising from the occupation of the same districts by more than one society, which has marred the work in other and older fields, Therefore BE IT RESOLVED . . . that each accept responsibility for well defined areas. . . .[10]

All this, note, some eighteen months before the American bishops arrived.

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8. A statement Of The Plan And Purpose Of The Evangelical Union of The Philippine Islands (Manila, 1902) pp. 6-12.

9. Homer C. Stuntz, "Christian Unity In The Philippines," *The Independent* 53 (1901) 1422-1423.

10. A Statement Of The Plan And Purpose Of The Evangelical Union Of The Philippine Islands (Manila, 1902) p. 5.

And Then a Schism

51. While the Protestants were attacking from without, a still more serious threat arose from within—a schismatical church, *La Iglesia Filipina Independiente.*

Gregorio Aglipay, from Ilocos Norte province, was a regularly ordained priest of the Catholic Church. Disappointed in his dealings with Archbishop Nozaleda of Manila, discontented with Spanish rule in the Church, he broke away from the "Spanish" church to form a "Filipino" church.

He made his whole appeal on a nationalistic basis. His church was to be the same as before, only for Filipinos and run by Filipinos. Many people were deceived, for at the beginning, at least, he outwardly maintained all details of the Mass, processions, etc.

Aided by a clever layman, Isabelo de los Reyes, and unfortunately abetted by the help of about fifteen priests who joined forces with Aglipay, the movement spread like a fire. Within a few years they had about 1,000,000 members, though they themselves claimed 3,000,000. Aglipay himself became the *Obispo Maximo,* or the Supreme Bishop.

One of the first moves in many towns was to take possession of the Catholic Church. For the church, they argued, had been built by the people of the town and belonged to them. Consequently, if they wished to change their religion now, they could use the church as they saw fit. So though in most Philippine towns there stood a Catholic church without a priest, in these Aglipayan towns there was neither church nor priest.

Aglipayanism, once separated from Rome, was doomed to die eventually. But "eventually" can be a long time, as many schisms have proven.

The Church Loses Youth

52. But probably the hardest blow of all was in the field of education.

The American Government set down clearly that there were going to be schools for everyone and that they were not going to teach religion. They would be modeled on the Public School system of the United States.

Within a few short years, schools were beginning all over the Islands. In 1904 over 800 Americans were there teaching, the great majority of them Protestants.

Just as dangerous, in a more quiet way, was the government system of *pensionados,* or scholarship students to the United States. Each year the government would select some outstanding students, then send them to the United States for College or university work. Upon their return to the Philippines, they were to be the leaders in improving social, educational and scientific conditions. The future of the Islands would be in their hands.

In itself, the plan was commendable. Yet, on the usual plea of "separation of Church and State," the more forceful now because of recent experiences with Spain, the strong Masonic and Protestant influence eliminated Catholic universities; off went the top Filipino Catholic young men and women to the non-Catholic universities of America. Anyone could see that within a few years the leaders of the Islands were going to be anything but Catholic in thought.

The Church was on its way to losing youth.

It was a dark hour.

53. Countless parishes had no priest. The war had damaged many churches. With Spanish state financial support gone, for the first time the people had to support their own Church; yet for 300 years they had scarcely heard of this commandment of the Church. Protestants were in their first zeal, with more men and money in the offing. Aglipayanism was a fire; any false step might make it a raging blaze that would sweep the country. The educational future was frightening.

As Taft told the Faculty and students of the University of Notre Dame on October 5, 1904:

> The condition of the Roman Catholic Church after the treaty of peace between Spain and the United States was a critical one; and while it has somewhat improved, there still remains much to be desired before it can assume its proper sphere of usefulness. . . . The truth is that the Church has been placed under the necessity of preparing a new priesthood and of establishing the old Church on a new foundation. . . .[11]

11. William H. Taft, *The Church And Our Government In The Philippines,* (Notre Dame, Indiana, The University Press, 1904) pp. 21-22.

5.
Fighting Upward

The Hard Years

54. If America could or would have sent some 700 priests to replace the 700 or 800 Spanish priests who had left, the Church in the Philippines would have been back to normal within a few years. If even fifty would have gone, with others to follow gradually, they could have checked the growing dangers.

Yet it is pathetic to count the number of American priests in the Philippines during the first twenty years. With Bishop Dougherty had gone the first heroic group. Several American Augustinians, Dominicans and Jesuits were there from about 1904. That was a start, at least. As the years passed, however, some died, others broke in health.

In 1912 there were eight American priests. In 1919 there were four.[1] In 1920 there were two!

55. It made a sorry contrast with the thousands of other Americans who had been or were in the Philippines, making it the most up to date nation in the Orient. American genius and industry were doing a magnificent job. American doctors wiped out cholera and smallpox, segregated lepers, and began the largest leper colony in the world on the island of Culion.[2] American engineers built roads, including the famous zig-zag highway to the mountain resort of Baguio, dredged harbors, reclaimed land to beautify the Manila waterfront. Through it all, the Church somehow seemed "behind the times."

56. The Protestants were active. In Manila they had four inexpensive dormitories for out of town students. Striving to counteract their influence, Archbishop Harty struggled to build

1. See F. X. J. Exler, O. Praem., "Missionaries In The Philippine Islands," *The Ecclesiastical Review* 61 (1919) 410-413. An Army Chaplain, he had been stationed with troops in the Philippines. Amazed to discover but four American priests, he even suggested a whole plan for getting some there.

2. See the best seller of 1936: Dr. Victor Heiser, *An American Doctor's Odyssey* (New York, W. W. Norton, 1936) chapters 4-15. In chapter 15 he pays a beautiful tribute to the Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres, who take care of the lepers.

a Catholic dormitory. Appeals to America for funds netted little; after four years it had to close.

Yet in 1913 one Protestant group could describe their work like this:

> Meanwhile the dormitories have been overcrowded and land has been purchased a block away for a new girls' school, $17,000 of the necessary $20,000 being already appropriated toward the new concrete building.[3]
>
> Cebu station is now enjoying the rare sensation of erecting five buildings in one year—two residences, two dormitories and a church—all of reinforced concrete. The net cost of land and buildings when complete will be $35,500.[4]

Then, speaking of the effect of their school, Silliman Institute, they state that "a politician recently remarked that in ten years Silliman can name every office holder in Oriental Negros."[5]

Finally, though many American government officials were outstanding men, a number of others were bitter Masons and Protestants, whom Filipinos had to emulate to advance. Few could be practical Catholics in that framework.[6]

But Little by Little

57. Despite these depressing angles, the situation little by little grew better. Missionaries had come from Europe; the Belgian Missionaries from Scheut, the Divine Word Missionaries from Germany, and the Mill Hill Fathers from England. Then, among others, came the Irish and Australian Redemptorists, who did wonderful work in giving missions to the people in their own dialects throughout the Visayan Islands. In 1911 the Christian Brothers opened De la Salle College, the first run completely by English speaking Catholics. Then in 1921 American Jesuits of the Eastern Provinces replaced the Spanish Jesuits; four years later there were fifty American Jesuits there.

During all these years of slow growth missionary nuns, so essential to modern missions, came into the field. But once again European congregations supplied the great majority. About 1907 the Belgian Missionary Canonesses of St. Augustine

3. Charles A. Gunn, *The Presbyterian Church And The Filipino* (New York, Board of Foreign Missions of Presbyterian Church in U. S. A., 1913) p. 13.
4. Ibid., p. 14.
5. Ibid., p. 3.
6. Pio Pi, S. J., "El Estado De Cosas De Filipinas," *Razón Y Fe*, 38 (1914) 163-170, p. 169.

established their first mission in Nueva Segovia; by 1941 they had twenty houses and 202 Sisters in the Philippines. Gradually a few other European congregations arrived to dedicate themselves to school and hospital work.

Four congregations with American Sisters came to the Philippines: the Franciscan Sisters of Mary, the Good Shepherd Sisters, the Holy Ghost Sisters and the Maryknoll Sisters, of whom the Maryknolls were the most numerous. When the war broke in 1941 there were about sixty Maryknoll Sisters on Luzon, some in St. Paul's Hospital, Manila, others teaching. All these American Sisters have done magnificent work; the one sorrow is that more American groups have not been able to join them in a field where they are so needed and so welcome.

58. Little by little, too, Aglipayanism declined. It had begun as a wild reaction to exaggerated grievances. Like Protestantism in the 16th Century, it soon had little to protest against and, although violently annoying, it began to fall apart. In 1908 the Supreme Court ruled Aglipayans had to return the Catholic churches they had usurped. Throughout the years the Catholic Church followed a "non-recognition" policy, disregarding the Aglipayans as much as possible. It worked.[7]

Protestantism, too, for all its power, was far less hopeful than in the early years. Filipinos become Protestants almost invariably for material advantages, and it is a magnificent tribute to the faith and loyalty of the Filipino Catholics that with all the inducements, relatively so few have yielded to the temptation.

Crisis Passed, but Condition Still Serious

59. With all the difficulties, in 1926 Archbishop O'Doherty of Manila could write: "Trust in Divine Providence, however, should make us look upward for encouragement. The crisis is passed."[8]

During the years from 1926 to 1937 the growth was quietly steady. In eleven years five new Dioceses and two Prefectures were erected.

7. Aglipay died in 1940, unfortunately never reconciled to the Church.
8. Archbishop M. J. O'Doherty, "The Religious Situation In The Philippines," *The Ecclesiastical Review* 74 (1926) 129-138, p. 138.

The Catholic Press, for instance, began to assert itself. In 1934 a group of capable college graduates began to edit *The Philippine Commonweal.* After many hard days, it won well merited support and became a forceful, fighting weekly.[9] The Society of the Divine Word conducted a bookshop in Manila that did much to stimulate Catholic reading. And the annual Catholic Literature Exposition, which followed a little later, grew to an impressive exhibit that widely diffused Catholic books in English.

As for the Filipino clergy, slowly a new generation of Filipino priests was arising. Some of them today are bishops. But it was exacting work. In 1926, after twenty-eight years of American rule, in the Archdiocese of Manila there was *one* priest ordained, and that in an archdiocese of about 200 parishes. So much had to be broken down, so much had to be built up, before vocations could even begin in a normal stream.

The Eucharistic Congress

60. The days of the Eucharistic Congress, February 3-7, 1937, were a perpetual wonder. For the Eucharist, the Sacrament of Unity, gathered all things into one.

Forgotten now, for instance, were the wars of only forty years ago, when Filipinos and Spaniards fought, and Spaniards and Americans, and Americans and Filipinos. Three nationalities joined now with one intention, and in every function and program they took equal part.

It also gathered people together from all over the world, with the Orient for the first time contributing a substantial share. For this International Eucharistic Congress was the 33rd and the 1st; the 33rd of the series and the 1st Mission Eucharistic Congress. The setting, the theme, the Mission Exposition, the official hymn, the official seal—all bespoke the missionary dream of the Church and the providential place of the Philippines in that dream and scheme.

9. The Editor, Manuel Colayco, father of four children, volunteered for military service immediately after Pearl Harbor and fought all through Bataan. In 1945, when the first American troops swept in to rescue the internees at Santo Tomas, he met them at the outskirts of Manila and helped to guide them to the gates of the camp. As the first column entered he was wounded by a Japanese grenade and died the following week. He was the N.C.W.C. correspondent for the Philippines.

Finally, the last night of the Congress gathered together all Philippine history. The procession passed the monument to Legaspi and Urdaneta; it passed the monument to Rizal. It followed Dewey Boulevard along the shores of Manila Bay. Then, from the great altar, Cardinal Dougherty, the "Missionary Bishop" returned as Apostolic Legate, gave Benediction to almost a million people looking out toward Corregidor and Bataan, little mindful of the tragedies to come.

Rising from their knees after that precious blessing, facing out toward China and the whole Orient around it, they sang the official hymn, an invitation to all those nations:

Venid, pueblos del Oriente,
Naciones todas, venid;
Y en abrazo de fe ardiente
A Dios hostia bendecid.

Come, peoples of the Orient,
All Nations, come;
And in the embrace of ardent faith
Praise the Host that is God.

"The Pope of the Missions" and the Philippines

61. One of the last official letters of Pius XI, "The Pope Of The Missions," was sent to the Philippine Islands. It was dated January 18, 1939; he died on February 10.

Recalling the Eucharistic Congress, he repeated the constant hope for the Philippines:

> Then, indeed, we realized clearly how great and beneficent might be the mission of this dear people, destined, so long as it keeps alive and active that Faith which it has preserved for four centuries, to become a center from which the light of truth will radiate, and to be, as it were, an advance guard of Catholicism in the Far East, a great part of which is disquieted and still plunged in the darkness of religious error.

Then, after a pointed explanation of what a program of *Catholic Action* should be, he ends on that same hopeful note:

> In this way your noble and beloved nation will be enabled to fulfill its providential mission through the living faith of its sons. Its children,

"receiving the word of the Lord . . . with the joy of the Holy Spirit," will be a pattern to all that believe, and from each of your islands the seed of supernatural life, the word of God, will spread to all the countries of the Far East: *A vobis diffamatus est sermo Dei . . . in omni loco* (Thess.1:6-8).

From the Congress to the War (1937-1941)

62. After the Congress things moved along in the slow but steady growth which had characterized earlier years.

One of the main intentions of the Eucharistic Congress had been "for many holy priests." God began to answer the prayers. In 1939 and 1940 an exceptional group entered the seminaries and novitiates; the heroism of some reads like the lives of the saints. Several young men, refused permission by their parents and told to forget the whole idea, did so until their twenty-first birthday, when they left a note in the house and walked off to the novitiate; there they remained steadfastly despite all inducements of parents and friends. Among the younger Catholics there was growing a "fighting faith."

Then more missionary congregations entered the field. The Society of Foreign Missions of Quebec took over the missions of Davao, the American Oblates of Mary Immaculate entered into the work of Cotabato and Jolo, the Columban Fathers extended their fruitful apostolate from Luzon to Mindanao, four more Maryknoll Fathers arrived, to carry on "Catholic Action projects" in Cebu diocese, and Franciscan missionaries of Mary began nursing and educational work in Mindanao. For the first time the Philippines began to have just a smattering of the priestly and religious help it needs.

6.
War Again

The Japanese Come

63. On December 8, 1941, the Philippines heard that the Japanese had bombed Pearl Harbor. It sounded incredible, but that very day Japanese planes appeared in Philippine skies; the war was on.

Almost everyone figured it would be a matter of weeks or months. Most knew that the Asiatic Fleet, based at Cavite in Manila Bay, was only a token force, but once the Pacific Fleet could steam from Pearl Harbor, America would really take the offensive. Scarcely anyone knew that the Pacific Fleet could not come.

The Filipino people were wholeheartedly loyal and dedicated their lives and goods to the struggle. Side by side, Filipino and American soldiers fought to protect the beaches, gradually dotted now with Japanese landing barges, and threw up defenses to stop the advance.

The missionaries likewise filled the need of the moment. Many priests became chaplains,[1] nuns became relief workers and nurses, and all were ready for some general duty work, from feeding people to burying them.

By January, despite all efforts, the Japanese had taken Manila and were pressing on to Bataan and Corregidor. Filipinos and Americans kept asking: "When will help come?" Few war stories are more pathetic than that of the soldiers on Bataan, fighting and hoping, relying on the vague promise that help would come "soon."[2]

But help never came. Without food, without medicine, lacking everything necessary for modern warfare but courage, Bataan surrendered in April, 1942. The majority of the soldiers on

1. Some of these chaplains have won well deserved renown. See, for instance, the story of Fr. William T. Cummings, M.M. in James Keller and Meyer Berger, *Men of Maryknoll*, (New York, Scribners, 1943) pp. 184-191, and that of Fr. Thomas Shanahan, S.J. in the book telling of the work of the Red Cross: George Korson, *At His Side* (New York, Coward-McCann, 1945) Chap. 2.

2. Carlos P. Romulo, *I Saw The Fall Of The Philippines*, (New York, Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1943) p. 197 and passim.

Bataan were Filipinos, many of them with no more military experience than their ROTC training in school.

In the following weeks the Japanese took Corregidor, Cebu, Mindanao and other islands south of Luzon. The first stage of the war was over. The Philippines now faced another new era.

The Japanese Stay

64. For their conquered countries Japan had a definite regime, called the Asiatic Co-Prosperity Sphere. Those who lived under it make two general comments: First, excepting those who grew rich in black markets, the only ones who prospered were the Japanese themselves. Second, the discrepancy between the Japanese description of things and reality was amazing. While the Japanese newspapers and radio in Manila were telling of glorious harvests, the people were starving; while they painted the peace and order of the country, there was brutality and torture. They boasted of great naval triumphs so often that the people began to understand that their "victories" were really American victories, and newsboys in Manila used to smile and shout: "Read the upside down news."

The Japanese had likewise a definite plan for the Catholic Church in the Philippines. Immediately they set up an Office of Religious Affairs. They knew well that any persecution, especially at the beginning, would be foolish. Instead, they planned to utilize the Church to strengthen their influence over the people. Soon after the military invasion a Japanese bishop and some Japanese priests arrived in the Philippines. In general, therefore, the Japanese allowed a good measure of religious freedom, figuring that in return the Church would preach submission to authority and obedience to law.

Thus ran their theory. In practise, apart from some isolated individuals and instances, it just never worked. The Church maintained its freedom as a right, not as a gift. In general, few people ever took the Japanese Government seriously, because the Japanese Government never commanded enough sincere respect by its accomplishments.[3]

3. In Baguio, for instance, the local officials staged a grand parade to celebrate the fall of Singapore. Even the cloistered nuns of Perpetual Adoration were forced to march in it with little flags.

What happened to the missionaries during all this time?

65. Missionaries of the United Nations, with which Japan was at war, were put into custody, some for a time in their own houses under a modicum of surveillance, and finally all in either of two camps at Santo Tomas in Manila and Los Baños about forty miles south of Manila.

Missionaries of those nations with which Japan was at peace, as Ireland, Germany and Spain, were free to remain at their usual work. This privilege, however, became a death trap when the Japanese fought for Manila.

Some missionaries the Japanese never captured. Moving into the hills with their people, for three years these priests lived a game of hide and seek with Japanese patrols, and refused to leave their work even when American submarines offered a chance of escape.[4]

The Japanese Go

66. In October, 1944, General MacArthur returned, landing with his forces on Leyte. A few months later the main landing was made at Lingayen, and troops swept down the Luzon plain toward Manila.

All along the Japanese offered slight resistance. Mile after mile the troops advanced, always querying: "Where are the Japanese? Where will they make their big stand?"

The answer came in Manila itself. The Japanese pulled the city down in ruins around them. Each street the Americans and Filipinos had to take in turn, building by building, floor by floor. The Japanese set fire to wide areas; other sections were wrecked by American bombs and shells, for they had no other way to drive the enemy from the buildings they had converted into fortresses.

The destruction was so complete that Senator Millard Tydings, who headed a group of twenty experts sent over to inspect conditions and then report to the President and Congress, returned as quickly as possible to urge immediate help. "Conditions as I

4. For the story of the missionaries in Mindanao, see E. J. Haggerty, S.J., *Guerrilla Padre* (New York, Longmans, Green & Co., to be published in the first months of 1946).

saw them in Manila," he told correspondents, "are beyond description."

67. The damage to Church property in all Philippine dioceses totals $75,000,000. Forty-seven Church buildings, including the Cathedral, were destroyed just in the Manila area. What is true of Manila, is true of other sections of the Islands on a smaller scale. Churches, schools, seminaries, libraries, all built up so painfully over the years, were wrecked in a few moments.

Still, all this material damage does not compare with the loss of people. Filipinos died in thousands for loyalty to their Church, their country and America. In some places Japanese troops wiped out whole towns, while individuals died for individual deeds; a number of Filipino priests lost their lives in the performance of their duties.

68. Many missionaries also perished in those last days, about a hundred of them. In a country that needs them so badly that loss is especially heavy. Though some of the dead were Americans and Australians, strangely enough most were from the nations not at war with Japan.

For during those last days in Manila, the missionaries from the Allied Nations, though enduring the hunger and horror of internment camps, were none the less in crowds of 2,000 or more; and though the Japanese are reported to have planned some sort of mass atrocity for them also, Filipino and American troops attacked ahead of schedule to rescue them.

In Manila's streets, however, the Japanese seem to have killed anyone in sight, and the smaller groups of Spanish Augustinians, Capuchins, Franciscans, Recollects and Vincentians, Irish Columbans, and German and Irish Christian Brothers, who were living in freedom in their respective communities, were burned alive and bayoneted indiscriminately. These mass murder accounts seem incredible, yet the reports have been carefully documented.[5] Of thirteen Augustinians, only two escaped death; sixteen Christian Brothers were bayoneted in their own school, even in the chapel.

5. See: *Report On The Destruction of Manila And Japanese Atrocities*, a booklet published by the Office of the Resident Commissioner of the Philippines to the U. S. Washington, Feb. 1945.

7.
Today and Tomorrow

In Brief . . .

69. Spain brought the Faith, but left an unfortunate legacy of ignorance in the masses and a slight Filipino clergy. America brought much contrary to the Faith, yet at the same time produced a milieu in which a Filipino clergy can increase and in which the Church has freedom to cope with conditions in the modern world.[1]

Always presupposing the gigantic work of reconstruction, today and tomorrow the Philippines face three main missionary activities:

Pioneer Mission Work

70. For tough, dangerous mission work, with little natural hope of success, few missions anywhere surpass those among the Moros of Mindanao and Sulu.

They are a grim, brave, fighting people. Among them polygamy is common, interest in cleanliness and education is not. Though some men have made the pilgrimage to Mecca, most have just a veneer of Mohammedanism, the only well learned lesson being "never to become Christian." Since American troops subdued them in the years following 1900,[2] they have been forced to limit their warlike spirit to occasional *juramentados,* skirmishes with the Constabulary and frequent battles with one another.

When the Spanish Jesuits returned to the Philippines after 1859, their missions were among these Moros. Tamontaca in Catabato was an important settlement, with an orphanage that

1. See Pierre Charles, S.J., *Les Dossiers De L'Action Missionnaire,* (Louvain, Aucam, 1938) pp. 1-36, where by keen analysis of the purpose and the meaning of the Missions, he shows that a certain level of health, education and culture are necessary for any native Church to become self-subsistent, no longer dependent on other Catholic peoples for priests, Brothers and nuns, financial support, etc.

2. John J. Pershing gained experience and some fame in these battles with the Moros. Even today in Zamboanga the town plaza is called "Plaza Pershing." Since Gen Dwight Eisenhower also was in the Philippines from 1935-1940 as military adviser to the Philippine Commonwealth, the Philippines can claim the leading American Generals of both World Wars: Pershing, MacArthur, Eisenhower.

gave hope for the future. Yet, though systematic effort accomplished something, it was proportionately so little. Then came the 1900 shortage of priests, making it necessary to drop this missionary work to care for the Catholics. Since then no large scale missionary effort has been made, and the Moros still await their apostles.

In the interior of many islands there are pagan tribes still to be converted. In the diocese of Zamboanga there are 511,000 Moros and 230,000 pagans against 387,000 Catholics, while in Baguio there are 157,600 pagans to 89,600 Catholics.

Finally, there are the lepers. The Island of Culion alone has 7,000, while smaller leper colonies dot other islands. So of dangerous, primitive mission work there is plenty in the Philippines.

Filipino Clergy

71. The great need, as ever, is for priests: *It has been estimated that 60 per cent of Filipino Catholics die without the Last Sacraments.*

The ultimate aim and hope, of course, is a complete Filipino clergy. Toward that goal we have progressed. Filipinos direct ten of the seventeen ecclesiastical divisions of the Islands; in 1934 Cebu welcomed the first Filipino Archbishop, Most Reverend Gabriel M. Reyes, and native vocations are slowly increasing. The Society of the Divine Word opened their Christ the King Seminary in 1934, and by 1940 there were forty students; since 1920 over 100 Filipinos have become Jesuits.

Yet the statistics of 1 priest for every 8,000 Catholics prove how urgently necessary are American and foreign priests to encourage vocations in parishes and schools and to help run the seminaries. It is surprising to note that even today, after forty years of American rule, eight out of twelve seminaries are still run by Spaniards. Be it understood that we have only admiration for their work. Yet, though the Spanish bishops in 1898 were likewise admirable men, Leo XIII removed them for American bishops. From this fact, and from the fact that Bishop Dougherty was urged to take American priests with him for his seminary, it seems that Leo XIII hoped American priests would eventually

take over the seminaries. But after all these years, eight are conducted by Spanish priests, three by the Society of the Divine Word and one by American and Filipino Jesuits.

Education

72. Where will vocations come from if not from Catholic Schools? So from the aspect of training priests, Brothers and nuns, schools are absolutely necessary.

Even apart from vocations, however, the general good of the Church cries out for Catholic education. In 1900 the Church had fears of losing youth; today we can see how well founded were the fears. Ninety per cent of Filipino Catholic boys and girls who have gone to school have gone to Public Schools. Some *pensionados* likewise have done their worst, and higher education in Manila is a prime need to combat the false philosophies they have circulated.

Circumdare Mundum

73. In a sense, we can say that Magellan's voyage around the world was "a type" of the Missionary Church. Further, del Caño's inscription *primus circumdedit me* suggests the end and aim of missionary effort: *circumdare mundum*—to circle the world. And just as del Caño's escutcheon quaintly personified the world as saying: "The first who circled me," so we dream of the day when the Church will be fully established everywhere and a similar inscription can read: *Ecclesia circumdedit me*—"The Church has circled me."

There are a few lines by an outstanding historian of the Philippines which sum up the Philippine Missions, past, present and future. Though the writer, James A. Robertson, was not a Catholic, he was not anti-Catholic; and though he wrote these lines in 1918, they are just as true today:

> Above all, the work of the Spanish priests in the Philippines is a work that can be built upon by American Catholics, and Catholicism has no cause to hide its head because of mistakes made by its human agents, because a great work was done and there is yet a great work to be done in the Philippine Islands.[3]

3. James A. Robertson, "Catholicism In The Philippine Islands," *Catholic Historical Review* 3 (1917-1918) 375-391, p. 391.

Study Outline

By Gerald C. Treacy, S.J.

Part I. Paragraphs 1-19

The conversion and civilization of the Philippines in the forty years following Legaspi's arrival is an achievement without a parallel in history. In 1585 Manila became a bishopric. In 1598 Manila became an archbishopric and three other sees were created, Cebu, Nueva Carceres and Nueva Segovia. By 1605 nearly all Filipinos were baptized Catholics.

The rapid growth of the Faith is accounted for by the King's real interest, the zeal of the missionaries, the mild nature of the military conquest and the loose structure of the native religion. The Moros have stood out against the wave of conversions from the beginning. But the Spaniards and the missionaries halted Moro Moslem conversions.

The missionaries not only brought the light of the Gospel to the natives; they brought civilization and culture as well. Schools and universities were soon established. And always the missionary was found defending the natives against exploitation. When Morga wrote his Story of the Philippines in 1606, the main work was done. The Islands changed little from that date to 1850.

Questions

When were the Philippines discovered?
What was the religious and social structure of the Philippine tribes?
State their religious beliefs.
For whom were the Philippines named?
Where did Legaspi establish his headquarters?
What four reasons account for the rapid conversion of the Philippines?
How successful has been conversion among the Moros?
Did the missionaries do more than spread the Faith through the Islands?
What did Morga state of the Islands in 1606?

Part 2. Paragraphs 20-38

For 250 years the life of the Filipinos continued peacefully. Spain was shortsighted in her commercial policy toward the Islands. Then, too, there was no native clergy developed through the 333 years of Spanish rule.

The problem of jurisdiction arose in the Church. As the greater number of Spanish priests belonged to Religious Orders, it was at once a problem of jurisdiction. Were the friars under the Bishops or their own religious superiors? It was never completely nor satisfactorily solved.

The friars gradually became part of the governmental regime. When the revolutionary movement of the 19th Century swept over Europe, it affected the Philippines. Spanish Masons and Liberals appeared and fomented the spirit of rebellion. Spain struck back but only to stir up the people against her rule. Under Rizal and then Aguinaldo the Filipino revolutionary movement grew stronger and stronger. When the Maine blew up in Havana harbor, February 15, 1898, a new chapter in the history of the Islands began.

How would you characterize Filipino life during 250 years of Spanish rule?
Explain the shortsighted Spanish commercial policy.
How long did English rule last over the Islands?
What was the Spanish attitude toward a native clergy?
What was the position of the native priest in the Philippines?
Answer the Spanish objection that Filipino priests were not fit.
Explain the mistaken Spanish policy in regard to the friars' rule.
State the three facts that led to the problem of jurisdiction.
What permission did the Holy See grant to the Religious Orders?
What problem arose from this permission?

What claim did Governor Raon make in 1767?
Explain the decision of Archbishop Santa Justa y Rufina in 1767.
What is the testimony of non-Spanish authorities on Spanish rule?
Whose was the strongest Spanish influence in the Islands?
Explain how the Church was too closely allied to the State in the Islands.
What was the Katipunan?
How did the Spanish Government meet the revolutionary movement?
Give an estimate of Jose Rizal.
What were the terms of the pact of Biak-na-bato?

Part 3. Paragraphs 39-53

May 1, 1898 saw America triumphant in the Philippines. Spain was defeated, and by 1901 the Filipino insurgents against America laid down their arms. America in President McKinley's words would take the Filipinos, "educate, uplift, civilize and Christianize them."

Spain was much different from America. "For Church and Spain" was a Spanish first principle. After the victory of Granada, Spain arose as a great world power, anxious to spread the Faith everywhere and extend Spanish rule everywhere. But after the French Revolution broke, Spain began to decline. She could not realize that revolution was shaking her. Weak within her own land she was weaker in her colonial possessions.

America had a different background. She had been founded by a group of men with separate religious loyalties. So the American Constitution called for freedom of religion. Separation of State and churches was made a first principle of American democracy. America believed in hygiene and education. She reflected her background in the Philippine Islands.

The first American move was to purchase the friars' lands by a Government bond issue, and then re-sell them to the people. The friars left the Islands gradually, and at their departure there

were 700 parishes without a priest. The Spanish bishops one by one resigned, and were replaced by Americans.

The first American missionary bishops faced a hard problem. The idea that Spain was decadent because it was Catholic, and America great because it was Protestant, was spread by the Protestant American missionaries. Besides this false propaganda, the Protestant missionaries had plenty of men and money. While this attack was strong from without, there arose treachery from within when Aglipay proclaimed the establishment of the Independent Philippine Church. But the hardest blow dealt Catholicism in the Islands was in the field of education. This was in truth the zero hour for the Catholic Philippines.

What was President McKinley's position on retaining the Philippines?
What was the Spanish attitude on Church and State?
Explain the greatness and weakness of Spain in colonization.
What was the Founders' decision on Church and State in America?
Enumerate America's outstanding characteristics.
Contrast the Spanish and American views on education.
What was the problem of the friars' lands and how was it settled?
State the "blow" from which the Philippines have not yet recovered.
What did Leo XIII accomplish by his letter of December 1902?
Name the four problems facing the American bishops in 1903, in the Islands.
What was the idea of the Protestants in creating The Evangelical Union?
Give the plan of The Evangelical Union?
Why did Aglipay start his Filipino Church?
Explain the Aglipayan strategy with the Filipinos.
What effect did the American Public School have in the Islands?
Explain the government system of Pensionados.

Part 4. Paragraphs 54-73

American energy at once began the transformation of the Philippines. American spiritual energy was sadly lacking. With the departure of 700 or 800 Spanish priests, a fearful void was created. By 1920 there were two American priests in the Islands. In the meanwhile Protestant zeal was evident everywhere. Archbishop Harty appealed for American funds, and received little. However, little by little things Catholic improved. Missionaries came from Europe. By 1921 American Jesuits arrived. In 1925 they numbered fifty. By 1926 Archbishop O'Doherty of Manila could say: "The crisis is passed." Between 1926 and 1937 there was substantial growth in Catholic effort. A Catholic Press was growing, a Filipino clergy developing.

War struck the Philippines in 1941. The Filipinos and the Catholic Church in the Islands wrote an unforgettable chapter of heroism during the dark days of the Japanese conquest. The Japanese regime meant prosperity for the Japanese; suffering for the Filipinos. In general a good measure of religious freedom was allowed. But few people took the Japanese Government seriously, for its accomplishments belied its promises. Missionaries of the Allied Nations were interned. Some remained in the hills all during the occupation. When General MacArthur invaded the Islands in 1944, the Japanese made their last stand in Manila. They pulled the city down in ruins over their heads. Many missionaries perished in a country that needs them so badly.

What of the future? Presupposing the gigantic task of reconstruction, the Philippines face three main missionary activities. First, a dangerous and hard mission field among the Moros of Mindanao and Sulu. Little progress has been made among these people. They have remained practically untouched by the light of Christ's Gospel. Again, in the interior of many islands there are pagan tribes still unconverted. Finally, there are the lepers, 7,000 alone on the island of Culion, with smaller leper colonies on other islands.

The great need is for priests. Sixty per cent of Filipino Catholics die without a priest. There is one priest for every

8,000 Catholics in the Islands. Today, after forty years of American rule, eight out of twelve seminaries are conducted by Spanish priests. The ultimate hope is for a Filipino clergy.

How numerous were American priests in the Philippines up to 1920?
What was American industry doing during this time?
Summarize the activity of American Protestantism during this period.
How successful was Aglipayanism in the Islands?
What was the motive prompting Filipinos to embrace Protestantism?
How far had native vocations progressed by 1926?
Enumerate the effects of the Eucharistic Congress of 1937.
What did Pope Pius XI say of the Congress?
State the indication of a FIGHTING FAITH among the younger people.
What has been the war record of the Filipinos and their missionaries?
Cite the opinion of the subjects of the Japanese Co-Prosperity Sphere.
Compare Spain and America in their contribution to the Philippines.
State the three missionary projects necessary now in the Islands.
What percentage of Filipinos die without the Sacraments?
State the percentage of priests to the Catholic population.
How many seminaries are under Spanish direction?
What proportion of Filipino boys and girls went to Public Schools?
What will a well-developed Filipino clergy means to the Orient?

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The Rev. Francis Xavier Clark, S. J. was born in New York City in 1913, and attended Fordham Preparatory School. In 1930 he entered the Society of Jesus at Wernersville, Pa., and there completed his novitiate and classical studies in 1934.

In June, 1934, he went to the Philippines, a member of one of the groups of Jesuit Scholastics who each year from 1933 till the war went to continue their course of studies with Filipino Jesuit Scholastics in the seminary at Novaliches, eighteen miles from Manila. There from 1934 to 1937 he made philosophical and scientific studies. In February, 1937, he was present for the 33rd International Eucharistic Congress in Manila.

During 1937-38 he taught at the Ateneo de Manila. From 1938 to 1940 he gained experience of the missions of Mindanao by teaching at the Ateneo de Zamboanga, which is in the midst of the Moro region of the Philippines.

He returned to the United States in 1940 to study Theology at Woodstock, Md. and was ordained in June, 1943. He has contributed mission articles to leading Catholic magazines, and is at present engaged in extra theological studies preparatory to returning to the Philippines.

The study outline and questions for *The Philippine Missions* were formulated by Gerald C. Treacy, S.J., who has prepared study club editions of various encyclicals.

The authors of the various studies of the Missionary Academia express their own views, which are necessarily independent of the National Council of The Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

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